1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

668 467 was at least to this extent favorable to the realization of its aims.

While the Santal industrial workers are substantially behind Jharkhand, the social schism between the elite and ordinary Santal, which is generally reflected as leaders and followers in the Jharkhand movement, is a source of disintegrative tendencies. Despite general support there are complaints that the leaders are only out to further their own ends. These sentiments are reinforced by a number of well-known cases in which leaders have pocketed funds collected for the party. There is also some tendency, particularly among the city Santal, to support third parties which are militantly pro-worker, especially when the local Jharkhand candidate has little chance of winning; this is most likely to be the case where "aboriginals" are in a minority, as in the city.

668 The schism between elite and non-elite is a continuing problem for the political movement, and the success which that movement has had in entering the promising new political rank path must have accentuated the ever-present conflict between emulation of the Hindus and tribal solidarity: while clearly calling for renewed solidarity to attain political success, the movement equally demanded emulation and abandonment of distinctive characteristics to validate the status which increased political power promised. This emulation-solidarity conflict was particularly serious among the Santal elite. About them were living examples indicating that emulation of Hindus led eventually to social absorption. Furthermore they were aware of the increasing cultural and consequent social schism between themselves and the common Santal. Rank improvement by passing into the Hindu fold still constituted an alluring prospect. Furthermore, Hindu values and attitudes had been

2: Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

VIII. CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

a. The councils.

623 634 We have three kinds of councils: The village, or headman's council, the outside, or over-chief council, and the hunt, or the council of the people of the country. In the village council the village headman is the president; in the outside-council the Pargana is the president, and in the hunt council the hunt-priest is the president. In the headman's council the 'five men' of the village[1] assist the headman in judging. In the Pargana's council the village headmen under the Pargana and the village people of the neighbourhood assist him in judging. In the hunt-council the people of the whole country assist the hunt-priest in judging. The headman is above the village; the Pargana is above a number of villages. There is nothing fixed; they have not the same number of villages, some have many, others have only a small number under them. We have Dɔs Mɔ̃ñjhis, these are the assistants of the Parganas. From a village headman's judgement they may appeal to the Pargana, and from the Pargana's judgement they may appeal to the people of the country in the burnt forest. From the judgement of the people of the country there is no appeal.

634 The customary perquisites of a Pargana are as follows: From every single village under him he is to get year by year one rupee, half-a-seer clarified butter, and eighty cobs of Indian corn. The Dɔs Mɔ̃ñjhi gets eight annas, a quarter seer clarified butter, and forty cobs of Indian corn every year in the same villages. When the village headmen under the Pargana pay in to him his perquisites, he gives them a feast, and the Dɔs Mɔ̃ñjhi also 177 does the same. Nowadays some village headmen do not give the Pargana the rupee, neither 178 does the Pargana give any feast to the village headmen who pay: they let all pass into 622 desuetude, since the Europeans have appeared in the Santal country. Since these have 634 appeared, the Parganas and the village headmen have become utterly greedy; anyone who is able to give them most money, in his favour they judge, and people of this kind they 661 help in the public courts, and poor people who have no money, they do not take any notice of; without cause or reason they scold and browbeat them and cause their suit to be dismissed.

177 178 691 The people of the country are not nice either. They do not inform the village headman, neither do they complain to the Pargana, and to the people of the country they do not

[1] See Dictionary s. v. mɔ̃rɔ̃ hɔr.